

Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*: Does It Encourage Or Discourage
Racism?

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ABSTRACT

In 1884 Samuel Clemens, also known as Mark Twain, wrote one of the greatest masterpieces in American literature. Little did he know that he would create a book that would spark one of the longest-running controversies in American literature. The controversy over *Huckleberry Finn* began in 1884 and still continues as school districts across the country are forced to choose whether or not to use *Huckleberry Finn* in literature classrooms. This thesis discusses how Mark Twain wrote this novel as a way to inform his readers about the social injustices that society had come to accept as normal. The defenses for *Huckleberry Finn* include Mark Twain's biographical information, his insistence on historical accuracy, the reason behind using the term "nigger" over 120 times, and Twain's realism. This thesis will also show how teachers can effectively teach this novel in a way that will minimize the resistance to using this book in high schools and universities across the country.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In 1884, Samuel Clemens, better known as Mark Twain, wrote what would become one of the most controversial novels of all time. Written 122 years ago, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* still remains one of America's most frequently challenged and controversial books today. The controversy started in 1885 when the book was published, and its use in the schools is still being challenged to this day.

Samuel Clemens was born November 30, 1835, in Florida, Missouri. In 1839 his family moved to Hannibal, which is located on the Mississippi and about thirty miles from Florida, Missouri. It would be along the Mississippi that he would experience the carefree boyhood adventures that would later become the backdrop for his classic writings and fictional characters of Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn (Marck).

The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn has a tremendous history. Mark Twain started the novel in 1875, when he wrote a letter to William Howells saying, "I shall take a boy of twelve and run him through life (in the first person) but not Tom Sawyer—he would not be a good character for it" (Brown). A month later, he knew that boy would be Huck. By 1876, when Twain was in the process of writing the story, he decided to give up the idea of taking Huck through the story on into his adult life. In fact, he

didn't even really like the story. Again he told Howell, "I like it only tolerably well, and may possibly pigeonhole or burn the ms. when it is done" (Brown 1) After this, Twain set the story aside for seven years, but his return to the Mississippi River allowed him to return to continuing the story of *Huckleberry Finn*. With this, he also knew that the river was going to be the structural backbone of the book and its life's blood. All went well, and he finished the book in 1884 (Brown).

Twain's novel instantly became the center of attention in 1885, as the controversy over the appropriateness of the novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* began to pick up steam. Throughout the story's history, the novel has been criticized, censored, and banned for many of its perceived failings, which include, but are not limited to, obscenity, atheism, realism, bad grammar, coarse manners, low moral tone, anti-Southernism, and racism. Although the topics of the controversy have changed since 1885, the problem remains the same: who, if anybody, should be reading this story (Webb)?

On February 18, 1885, the first American edition made its first appearance, and sales were doing well. About 9,000 orders were made by September 2, 1884, and over 40,000 by April of 1885, according to the publishing company run by Charles L. Webster (who was Twain's nephew by marriage). Twain scholar Walter Blair estimates that approximately

twenty million copies have now been sold around the world, with sales going strong (Brown). Currently, there are approximately 40 different editions of the novel available in the United States alone. *Huckleberry Finn* is primarily taught in high schools but is also taught at the middle school and university levels as well. The number one author read in American high schools is Shakespeare with Mark Twain second. *Huckleberry Finn* is more often read than any other work in the school curriculum. In 70% of American high schools, *Huckleberry Finn* is a required text. It is also the most often taught novel of any language, the most often taught long work in any language, and by far the most often taught work in American literature. This has been the case since 1945. In the last 35 years or so, there have been more than 600 books, articles or essays written about *Huckleberry Finn*, not including popular journals, newspapers, magazines, and the Internet ("Adventures").

One of the main issues this paper will discuss is whether or not *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is appropriate for both junior high and high school students. Also, what is more important: the racial aspect of the present day controversy or the authority and classical greatness that both the author and the novel itself have earned over the last 122 years? Although this paper will explore both sides of the controversy, the overall conclusion will be to try to prove that by considering the historical

background, the use of specific language terminology, and the use of realism, that the story of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* does not promote racism.

There are many assumptions that can be made about both the author and the novel. The biggest assumption that can be made is that no matter what side of the argument you are on, this book is still considered one of the most significant pieces of literature in American history. Some of the most popular authors of all time have not only considered *Huckleberry Finn* a lasting memory, but have also helped mark the novel as one of the most brilliant pieces of literary fiction ever written. Referring to the use of realistic dialogue, in 1840 Emerson wrote, "What a pity that we cannot curse and swear in good society. . . . It is the best rhetoric and for a hundred occasions these forbidden words are the only good ones" (Webb). Twain took these words to heart in his writing. In 1891, Andrew Lang wrote, "Now I do not mean to assert that Mark Twain is 'an impeccable artist,' but he is just as far as from being a mere coarse buffoon" and added, "I have no hesitation in saying that Mark Twain is one among the greatest of contemporary makers of fiction" (Romeu 23). T.S. Elliot called *Huckleberry Finn* "a masterpiece." Lionel Trilling was quoted as saying the story of *Huckleberry Finn* is "one of the world's greatest books and one of the central documents of American culture." And Ernest

Hemingway said, "All Modern American literature comes from one book by Mark Twain called *Huckleberry Finn*. . . . There was nothing before. There has been nothing as good since" (Webb).

Currently, the majority of the people involved in controversy over whether the novel is appropriate for both junior high and high school students are parents, students, and educational specialists, which includes administration as well as teachers. Within the last 20 years or so, the issue that has been raised with *Huckleberry Finn* is whether or not the story promotes racism. The issue of racism is a very touchy subject, which has raised many questions about the appropriateness of its being taught at both the middle school and the high school levels.

Even today, *Huck Finn* is on trial in many school districts. As recently as November 2, 2006, *Huck Finn* was taken out of the curriculum in two Detroit high schools. According to the *Detroit News*, Taylor School District officials stopped all instruction of the novel in both of their high schools. The controversy began when an English teacher wanted the students to both read aloud and act out the story as a class. The class had one African-American student who would hear classmates use the word "nigger" as it was read aloud in class. The parents of this student became upset with the teacher's methods and fought to get the book removed from the curriculum (Bouffard, and Brand-Williams 1). Since the

early 1950's, this part of the controversy has only increased. Scenarios like the one in the Detroit School District have been repeated over and over and are still continuing into the 21st century.

There are many aspects in the story that some would consider to have a racist twist. Today, most of the objections raised against the story of *Huckleberry Finn* concern the use of the word "nigger." Mark Twain uses that word more than 120 times within the context of the entire story. For the last 20 years or so, both supporters and non-supporters of *Huckleberry Finn* have been fighting over the appropriateness of the use of this word. Supporters feel that because of Twain's use of realism, it is appropriate to read the novel as it is. They feel that Twain was portraying the Civil War era of the South in a realistic fashion. They argue that the use of the word "nigger" is used as it would have been used in the 1800's. Supporters argue that when people read the book, they need to take this into consideration because the students who end up reading the novel need to see what America was like during this time ("Huck").

Non-supporters, on the other hand, feel that the use of the word "nigger" over 120 times is excessive and that it is offensive to have students read the novel with that type of language, especially if there are African-American students mixed within the class. Those who are against the novel feel that the word contains too much history. In America, the

history of that particular term has always been considered a degrading word toward African-Americans ("Huck"). Langston Hughes offers the following explanation of how the use of the word "nigger" affects the African-American culture: "The word nigger to colored people of high and low degrees is like a red rag to a bull" (Henry). Those against the novel claim that the term "nigger" used in the novel does nothing more than degrade and embarrass students that are from an African-American heritage, especially when they are forced to read this particular story aloud in class. For non-supporters of *Huckleberry Finn*, this is a major issue and one of the biggest reasons why *Huckleberry Finn* is currently being challenged in school districts all over the country (Henry).

Both supporters and non-supporters have arguments that are backed up by specific reasons as to why their side of the controversy is correct. This controversy has allowed critics to raise the important questions that revolve around the issues of race and human nature. How do we as English teachers teach this material to young adults in a way that not only makes them aware of the story, but also causes them to look at the issues that are buried deep within the pages of one of the greatest classics in American history?

CHAPTER 2

Review of Selected Literature

The history of the controversy over *Huckleberry Finn* really began around 1885, when the novel was first published. It started when the Concord Massachusetts Public Library excluded *Huckleberry Finn* within a month of its publication. The Concord Library excluded the book due to the fact that they thought that it was rough, coarse, inelegant, and dealt with experiences that were considered not elevating. The library also thought that the book was more suited to the slums than to the intelligent, more respectable class of people. By banning this book, they set the precedent against Mark Twain and his novel. Most of the reviews and comments on the novel during this time were mainly centered in five major cities: Boston, Hartford, New York, San Francisco, and Springfield.

(Romeu 2). Mark Twain's reputation as an author made it hard for most reviewers to give him a bad review at first. They had trouble measuring the quality of *Huckleberry Finn* against Twain's previous works. Out of the fourteen articles that did review his latest piece of literature, eight of them considered *Huckleberry Finn* to be a major improvement over his previous works.

In Ferran Romeu's quantitative and qualitative analysis, "The Reception of Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* in 1885: A Controversial

Process," he highlights the controversy in articles from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Hartford Daily*, the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, the *Boston Evening Traveler*, and *The New York Times*. In 1885, there were definitely two sides to this debate with opinions ranging from "the most amusing book Mark Twain has written for years" to "one cannot have the book long in his hands without being tempted to regret that the author should so often have laid himself open to the charge of coarseness and bad taste" (Romeu 2). The consensus was that one either loved the book or hated it.

To some degree, the debate died down as time went on, but it picked back up with a vengeance in the 1950's, as the issue of race became front and center within the American culture. It started when two contemporary critics, Eliot and Trilling, made statements endorsing the book, thus putting it in the hands of middle school and high school English teachers across the country. This also coincided with the Supreme Court case of *Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education*, which legally ended public school segregation in 1954. During this time, there was a certain amount of indignation among many African-American parents and students as they began to claim that *Huckleberry Finn* did nothing more than promote racism (Henry). Henry's article "The Struggle for Tolerance: Race and Censorship in *Huckleberry Finn*" outlines how African-American

protestors were offended by the use of the word "nigger" being used over 120 times within the novel, as well as how the story portrayed Jim, the run away slave.

Henry's article also uses a study completed by Penn State in 1972 that focuses on determining whether the issues in *Huckleberry Finn* cause, further, or ameliorate a poor self-concept, racial shame, or negative racial stereotyping. The research was used to study the influence that the novel had on the racial attitudes of black and white ninth grade boys. The study found that the novel's influence on a majority of the students had, in fact, a very positive outcome. Herbert Frankel, director of the study concluded that "significant changes in perceptions of blacks occurred for black and white students, and all shifts were of a positive nature":

The results of the study demonstrated both a deeper sensitivity to the moral and psychological issues central to the novel and a more positive attitude on matters calling for racial understanding and acceptance. (Henry)

The scene in the 1950's led the charge surrounding the racial side of the controversy. Even today, this issue is still at the forefront surrounding the novel of *Huckleberry Finn*. Even as recently as November 2, 2006, it was kicked out of two Detroit high schools, due to

the protest of at least one African-American parent. An article in *The Detroit News* by Karen Bouffard and Oralandar Brand-Williams titled "Taylor Schools Expel 'Huck Finn'" describes a recent banning of the classic within the Detroit Public Schools. In 2000, the story of *Huckleberry Finn* still ranked fifth in the American Library Association's 100 Most Frequently Challenged Books of 1990-2000. As Twain's novel continues to be challenged within middle schools and high schools around the country, it is clear that the controversy surrounding one of the greatest American novels is far from over.

Parallel to the controversy come many defenses for the appropriateness of Twain's novel. One of those defenses is contained within Mark Twain's life as outlined in John Mauck's article "Samuel Langhorne Clemens 'Mark Twain': His Life, Family, and Writings."

Growing up alongside the Mississippi River, Twain experienced many boyhood adventures that would become the backdrop for the fictional characters of both Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn. Twain started his writing career as early as age fifteen when he began working at the *Missouri Courier* in 1850. He continued writing as he struggled with the issues that surrounded the Civil War. Finally in July of 1875, Twain finished one of his most famous masterpieces, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. In 1876, *Tom Sawyer* was published by the American Publishing

Company (Marck). The highlight of his writing career came when he finished *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in 1884. As he struggled to write it over a period of seven to eight years, he finally put the finishing touches on the story that was set within the memories of his childhood experiences, only to be slaughtered in the press, creating one of the longest-lasting controversies in American history ("Samuel" 2).

One of the biggest issues surrounding *Huckleberry Finn* is whether or not the historical context of the book overrides the notions that the book flat out promotes racism. In Joel Roache's essay "Negative Capability and Teaching the Controversy Over Race In *Huckleberry Finn*," Twain's satire is wrapped around the traditions of the old south. He also mixes in ideas fixed around what he calls "the damned human race." In this statement, Twain shows how society's most twisted and destructive norms are represented in this book, which is also the central experience of the novel. In Twain's words, "A sound heart and deformed conscience come into collision and conscience suffers defeat" (Roache 1).

Although this paper will discuss many concerns, the two main issues surrounding the controversy of Twain's novel *Huckleberry Finn* is based on the portrayal of Jim's character, and the repetitive use of the term "nigger." These two concepts seem to be the main focal point of both supporters and non-supporters of the story.

Jim is portrayed as an African-American slave who has run away from his slave owners because he found out that they were possibly going to sell him to another slave owner. The entire story is wrapped around the development of Jim and Huck's relationship as they raft down the Mississippi River to escape the lives they once knew. According to Roache, those who are against the novel point out that Jim's character is a stereotype of the so-called "typical good Negro." They are more concerned with how Jim is portrayed over what his character actually does throughout the story. They look at his ignorance, his superstitious beliefs, his humility, and the dialect of the language he uses (Roache 2).

Those who are for the novel argue that this familiar stereotype is an element of subtle irony. They feel that by letting Jim's humanity emerge from within his character, Twain was making that emergence even more dramatic, more striking, and possibly even more disturbing. The most common sense defense to these accusations is that the novel is portraying the characters and events with historical authenticity. They maintain that Jim is portrayed as he would have been portrayed by both Twain and the reading public. The African-American scholar and poet Sterling Brown wrote, "Jim is the best example in nineteenth century fiction of the average Negro slave. . . . And he is completely believable" (Roache 2).

Still another major issue in this controversy is the use of the word "nigger." The article "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn" from the University of Chung-Ang discusses whether or not it is an appropriate piece of literature for young adult readers. Whether or not it was written in a manner to portray a realistic version of the south in the 1830's/1840's, or whether it was written to degrade the African-American race, the era in which it is set, with mainly poor white trash people, slaveholders, and the slave state of Missouri. Defenders simply claim that it is dealing with a slave state during a time when people of Huck's social class would use that particular term. Those who attack the novel instead tend to side with how those in the current African-American culture will react to the over usage of this term. They tend to claim that it carries with it the sense of offensiveness, which alludes to what was once a degrading condition.

This term has so much meaning behind it that it simply should not be used, even if it is being portrayed realistically ("Adventures").

In the midst of the controversy comes the question about what to do with the novel. Should it be taught in the public school systems? If so, what age is appropriate to teach the contents that are so powerfully proclaimed within the message of the story? If it is taught, how should English teachers go about preparing students for content held within its pages? Should it be read aloud in class? If so, should the highly

controversial term "nigger" be read or just skipped over? These are only some of the questions being raised in the article by Douglas L. Howard "Silencing Huck Finn." Many English teachers are for using the story of *Huckleberry Finn* in classrooms across America. Those for the novel feel that if you set the scene of the story and explain and discuss some of the more controversial issues, the students should be prepared for the content when reading the story. Unfortunately, you cannot control how words will be interpreted or how lessons will be learned. However, according to one English teacher quoted in the article:

We do know, however, that what we have to say could be damaging or offensive, we have a responsibility to address it, not only to avoid the legal issue that might ensue, but also to open a dialogue that leads to understanding and that, ideally prevents the offense from ever taking place. (Howard

5)

Many teachers claim that the novel belongs in schools because it demonstrates loyalty by portraying Jim's loyalty to Huck on the buddy level. This is a way for teachers to get kids to read books that they may enjoy, especially boys who tend to be the students who least enjoy reading. English teachers also claim that it is a great way to show the archetypical American experience of how Whites and Blacks coexisted

during the slavery era. Another defense for reading the book is that it is a challenging book, and students will not learn unless they are challenged ("Adventures").

On the other side of these issues are those who feel that *Huckleberry Finn* should never be used in an American classroom again. They feel that no student, especially those of African-American heritage, should be subjected to the use of word "nigger" 120 times. They also worry that the content of the story, including some of Huck's comments, such as when Huck lies to his Aunt Sally about a steamboat explosion. When asked if anyone was hurt, Huck replies, "No'm, killed a nigger" (Twain 1388). Taken out of context, this statement can also seem extremely racist, but is in fact a realist portrayal of the mentality towards black slaves in this era ("Adventures").

The point of this paper is to try to answer some of these extremely tough and controversial questions about what Twain was really trying to portray. Was Twain expressing both his contempt and the absurdity of slavery, or was he actually promoting slavery? In the article "Racism In Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*," these questions are further examined. The author believes, "It is important not to take the novel at face value and to 'read between the lines'" ("Racism"). Instead of promoting racism, Twain actually opens the ugliness of society and causes the reader to

challenge what they believe about society as a whole. In doing this, Twain creates "not an apology for slavery but a challenge to it" ("Racism"). By doing so, one would realize that the story is indeed the product of its era.

CHAPTER 3

History of the Controversy

Originally written as a children's book, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has been the center of controversy since 1885 when it was first published by Samuel Clemens, better known as Mark Twain.

The controversy over this novel gained momentum in the late 19th century, and *Huck Finn* is still one of the most controversial pieces of literature today. The history of the controversy has three major eras of interest: the late 19th century, when it was first published; the 1950's-1960's, when the civil rights movement was at its peak; and the present. Although the reasons for the heated controversy over this novel have changed over the years, one question has remained the same. Who, if anyone in this civilized society should be reading the story of *Huckleberry Finn*?

When *Huckleberry Finn* first came out in the late 19th century, the nation was coming out of a period of chaos. The Civil War had only been over for a few years, the Reconstruction era was just ending as the country's scars were beginning to heal, and the African-Americans were going through their first phase of actually being free Americans. When critics first read this book, views were mixed and most were based on their own history and personal beliefs of the previous few decades.

The controversy actually started around 1884, which was about a

year before *Huckleberry Finn* was first published. There are five main events that happened before the book was published that may have contributed to the evolution of the controversy over this novel. First, excerpts of *Huckleberry Finn* had been read during a lecture tour and some chapters had appeared in *The Century Magazine* before publication. This early preview of the book may have created a biased perception of the story. Second, before the book appeared, there was a scandal in which someone changed some of the engravings and manipulated them to make certain pictures in the book look obscene. These engravings were not originally published in the book; however, they were circulated through an advertising brochure that had been distributed to the public. Third, Twain was in the process of suing the Boston publishing firm Estes & Lauriat for releasing a catalog before the book was published that offered the book at a lower price than what they were supposed to charge. This lawsuit was highly public, and Boston newspapers closely followed and printed the details of the case, especially the verdict that favored Estes & Lauriat. Fourth, the book was sold by subscription, which was a method that newspapers did not like because that meant that the book would not be advertised in their papers (Romeu). The final event and probably the most significant event to happen within a few months of publication was the Concord banning. The Concord Massachusetts Public

Library banned the book from its shelves on the grounds that it was "rough, coarse and inelegant, dealing with a series of experiences not elevating, the whole book being more suited to the slums than to intelligent, respectable people" ("Evening"). When the Concord Library banned *Huckleberry Finn*, it started a domino effect that rippled through the press and began a controversy that has lasted over 120 years.

Once the Concord banning had been made public, newspapers across the country from Boston, Massachusetts, to San Francisco, California, decided to weigh in on the quality of the novel. There was both praise and criticism for Twain's new masterpiece. Surprisingly, most of the reviews were quite tame, due to the fact that the reviewers respected Twain's prestige and popularity. Out of the fourteen articles that spoke out about the book, eight of them considered *Huckleberry Finn* to be an advance over Twain's previous novels, while three of them considered the book to be a partial sequel to *Tom Sawyer*, with only a slight degree of criticism. *The Atlantic* said, "*The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is in some sense a sequel to *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, though each of the two stories is complete in itself." *The Hartford Daily Times* said, "Everybody will want to see *Huckleberry Finn*, Mr Clemens's story—a sort of continuation of his *Tom Sawyer*." Other papers had nothing but praise for *Huckleberry Finn*. *The San Francisco Chronicle* described

Huckleberry Finn as "the most amusing book Mark Twain has written for years" (Romeu).

On the flip side of the controversy, other reviewers were not as respectful of his reputation. *The Springfield Daily Republican* said, "It is time that this influential pseudonym should cease to carry into homes and libraries unworthy productions" (Romeu). *The New York Herald* stated that the book was "absolutely immoral in its tone; it seems to contain but very little humor" ("Finn").

In 1885, people had many issues with the novel. *Huckleberry Finn* was mainly attacked because of its bad taste and lack of respectability. One of the issues that both sides chose to debate was the humor that Mark Twain used in the novel. Supporters of the book praised Twain's use of humor saying things like "It's an amusing story" and "The author rarely fails when he sets out to tickle the ribs of young or old; the funny book will always be in this world of dryness and dearth" (Romeu 4).

Unfortunately, there was much more criticism than support for Twain's use of humor. *The Boston Traveller* stated, "Mr. Clemens has contributed to some humorous literature that will hold its place, but his *Huckleberry Finn* appears to be singularly flat, stale, and unprofitable" ("Traveler"). Most critics considered the humor in *Huckleberry Finn* to be immoral and inappropriate for educated people to be reading.

The issue of tastefulness was also a problem that non-supporters of *Huckleberry Finn* used to attack the novel. *The Boston Advertiser* stated, "[B]ut one cannot have the book long in his hands without being tempted to regret that the author should so often have laid himself open to the charge of coarseness and bad taste." It also said, "It would be about as easy to read through a jest book, as to keep up one's interest in the monotonous humor and the dialectic variations of '*Huckleberry Finn's*' narrative" ("Advertiser"). Non-supporters considered *Huckleberry Finn* to be a typical character, but one that was not desirable to read about, especially to children. The response from *The Springfield Daily Republican* summed up this idea very nicely by saying,

Mr. Clemens is a genuine and powerful humorist, with a bitter vein of satire on the weaknesses of humanity, which is sometimes wholesome, sometimes only grotesque, but in certain of his works degenerates into gross trifling with every fine feeling. The trouble with Mr. Clemens is that he has no reliable sense of propriety. (Romeu)

This judgment from the *Daily Republican* explains why so many conservative newspapers so fiercely attacked the book.

The effects of the Concord ban and the war that went on between critics in 1885, set a precedent for most of the 20th century criticism. Over

and over again the book has been considered a piece of humorous or realistic literature, and the theme of human nature has become the modern topic surrounding this book. The difference between the 1885 criticism and that of the present day lies in the topics on which they focus. For the 19th century, the issue of race was not as important as, for example, realism. In 1891, famed writer Andrew Lang wrote in the *Illustrated London News*, "I have no hesitation in saying that Mark Twain is one among the greatest of contemporary makers of fiction" (Romeu 23).

The battle of the critics came out with the supporters of *Huckleberry Finn* having more of an accurate perspective than the non-supporters.

Non-supporters based their attack on two main arguments, which were respectability and tastefulness. However, their attacks were not

sufficiently backed up by substantial evidence, and most did not deny the

qualities within the book that were praised by Twain's supporters. The

supporters tended to use a much larger range of arguments in favor of the book and grounded their statements on very specific reasons or excerpts.

They also replied to the charges made against the book much better than the non-supporters. Supporters helped to establish the reputation of

Huckleberry Finn, helping to make it one of the greatest pieces of

American literature to have ever been written.

The 1950's and 1960's were times of social instability, with the rise

of the Civil Rights movement. Racial boundaries were being tested on all sides as African-Americans stood up and fought for desegregation and the rights they had been denied over the previous centuries. Supreme Court cases such as *Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education* helped legally end public school segregation in 1954. For the first time, American classrooms were no longer only black or only white. Tension over *Huckleberry Finn* mounted, as the classic story became the center of attention in American Literature classrooms that had become a mixture of racial backgrounds. This new mixture of society would bring the *Huckleberry Finn* controversy to a new extreme, changing the issues behind the controversy.

By the 1960's, *Huckleberry Finn* had been criticized, censored, and banned for a variety of perceived failings, including obscenity, atheism, bad grammar, coarse manners, low moral tone, and anti-Southernism. The detractors of *Huckleberry Finn* were just as diverse consisting of parents, critics, authors, religious fundamentalists, right-wing politicians and even librarians (Henry).

Like the controversy in 1885, the controversy of the *Huckleberry Finn* had both supporters and non-supporters for the story. By the 1950's *Huckleberry Finn* had been labeled an American "masterpiece" by authors such as T.S. Elliot. Lionel Trilling also said that *Huckleberry Finn* was

"one of the world's great books and one of the central documents of American culture." The endorsements for the book that was made by these two authors gave *Huckleberry Finn* the respectability and clout it needed to assure the book's admission into high school classrooms across the United States (Henry).

Opponents at this time were mostly parents and students who had gathered more powerful figures on their side, such as politicians and the media. Parents and students were furious with the portrayal of blacks in the story. African-Americans did not agree with how Jim the slave was portrayed by assigning negative characteristic traits to blacks. They were also upset about the use of the term "nigger" that was used over 120 times throughout the novel.

Throughout the past, blacks had complained about the racially offensive tone of the novel, but it was not until September 1957 that the *New York Times* reported the first case that brought about official reaction and obtained public attention over the conflict. The New York Board of Education removed the story from the approved textbook lists from all public elementary and middle schools in New York; however, it could still be taught at the high school level and purchased for school libraries. In 1967, after removing *Huckleberry Finn* from their curriculum, the Philadelphia Board of Education replaced it with an adapted version,

which toned down the violence, simplified the southern dialect, and took out all derogatory references to blacks. Schools around the country dealt with the issue in their own ways. Some school districts banned the book in its entirety. Other were more compromising by banning the book in required classes only, leaving it to the students discretion as to whether or not they chose to take an elective English course that would study and read *Huckleberry Finn*.

Many of the issues surrounding the controversy over this book had changed over years. In the 1950's and 1960's one of the biggest issues that people had with the book was the use of the term "nigger" repeated over and over. Langston Hughes compared the use of the word "nigger" to swinging a red flag in front of a bull. He explained that it had the same effect for African Americans. Hughes also says, "The word nigger, you see, sums up for us who are colored all the bitter years of insult and struggle in America." In America those who are from a non-black ethnic group know that for them to even utter the word "nigger" in the presence of a person of color is to throw down a gauntlet of anger and retaliation (Henry).

Another issue that people had an intense opinion on was the portrayal of Jim the slave in the story of *Huckleberry Finn*. Many people, especially African-Americans, were disgruntled about the use of racial

stereotypes, mainly through the portrayal of Jim and other blacks in *Huckleberry Finn*. Opponents of the story felt that Twain's portrayal of Jim represented the tendency of the dominant white culture to assume that whites were and will always be superior, making African-Americans inferior to the White Americans. They disapproved of scenes that made blacks seem childish, less intelligent than whites, superstitious beyond reason and common sense, and grossly ignorant of Standard English (Henry).

The debate over *Huckleberry Finn* had become such a publicized issue within society that universities started studying the book like never before. Penn State University was asked to determine whether "*Huckleberry Finn* causes, furthers, or ameliorates poor self-concept, racial shame, or negative racial stereotyping." Herbert Frankel, the director of the 1972 study, measured the influence that *Huckleberry Finn* had on the racial attitudes of both black and white ninth grade boys. The study showed only positive results. The study concluded that there was indeed a positive shift of perceptions in both the black and white students. For the black students it showed that there was an increase in self-concepts. They also tended to identify more strongly and positively with other members of their own race after reading the story. As for the white students, the study found that after reading the book, they tended to show

a decrease in hostile or unfavorable feelings and an increase in favorable feelings towards members of another race. The study also showed that students who read the book under the supervision and guidance of a teacher had more positive results than those who read the book on their own. After the results of this study were concluded, Penn State judged the novel as "suitable for serious literary study by high school students" (Henry). Other studies of this magnitude were conducted across the country, and many found similar results. They found that if taught under the right circumstances, *Huckleberry Finn* could be taught without contributing to negative racial attitudes in white students or undermining racial pride in black students (Henry).

Even with the results of the 1972 study of *Huckleberry Finn*, the story is still the center of literary controversy even through the 20th century and into the 21st century. In February 1998, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) held a press conference urging school districts to drop the novel of *Huckleberry Finn* from their mandatory reading lists. The NAACP found that the repeated use of racial slurs in the novel lead to well-documented psychological damage to African-American children's self esteem, especially in the classroom. Sandra Choute, President of the Penn State University chapter of the NAACP said, "Students who find the book offensive should be able to read

another book or be excused from class." The press conference started a heated debate as high school teachers and college professors fought and argued for the book's right to stay in the classroom. Susan Harris, director of English graduate studies at Pennsylvania State University and author of several books on Mark Twain said the following:

In the 19th century, it glorified a bad boy. In the 20th century, race was focused on. But at the heart of both is (that) the novel brings up a lot of fear and prejudice. It does this deliberately and so it has to be taught . . . [and] banning the book from schools is like pretending the issues surrounding the book don't exist. (Swift 3)

Those involved in the controversy have gained the attention of everyone from political leaders, major groups such as the NCAAP, college professors, teachers, parents and students. Everyone has something to say on this issue whether they are for or against *Huckleberry Finn*, which has only added to the heated debate over this controversial novel.

In 2000, *Huckleberry Finn* made the list of the 100 most frequently challenged books between 1990 and 2000, coming in as the 5th most challenged book of the decade (ALA). Although the book has come in 5th on the most challenged list, according to New York Professor of English Arthur Applebee, in 2000, the frequency of *Huckleberry Finn* appearing in

American classrooms is only second to Shakespeare. *Huckleberry Finn* is required in 70 percent of public high schools and in 76 percent of parochial high schools. It was rated as the most taught novel, the most taught long work, and the most taught piece of American literature in American school from the middle school level through the university level (Webb). Kenneth Thigpen, an associate professor of English American studies said, "It's not a children's book." He also said, "This book has become a focal point for the issue of racism, but the issue is really about bad teaching" (Swift 2).

Even though *Huckleberry Finn* is the most taught book in history, the issues surrounding the controversy have stayed fairly consistent since the 1950's, and it is still creating chaos for many school districts. In November 2006, Taylor School District in Detroit, Michigan, suspended instruction of *Huckleberry Finn* after at least one African American parent complained about the word "nigger" being repeated over 120 times. The controversy in this district began when an English teacher decided to both act out and read the book aloud in class. The book still appears on the shelves of Taylor schools, but is no longer allowed to be on the syllabus for any high school English class (Bouffard/Brand-Williams).

On the other side of the country in Washington State, *The Seattle Times* reported on a Renton public high school dealing with this same

controversy within their own district. However, this time it was a white parent that was outraged by her daughter having to read *Huckleberry Finn* for a mandatory English class. The parent objected to her daughter reading the book on the grounds that it offended the family's religious, moral, and political sensibilities. The outcome was also different; district officials took the matter into consideration, but defended the book's educational merit by refusing to drop it from the school curriculum.

Many English teachers stood up for the use of the book. One teacher in particular was Mrs. Anderson, an English teacher at Renton High School, who had the following to say about the use of *Huckleberry Finn* in her classroom:

In terms of contemporary issues, I think it opens the door to a conversation that we just don't have, in terms of who we are and where do we come from and what does our language mean and why kids in the hallway use the word so frequently. We could ignore the book, but then we're ignoring history. We're ignoring that the language exists. I don't think in the long run, that's helpful to our kids.

("Seattle")

Every year at the end of Anderson's *Huckleberry Finn* unit, she asks her class to write an essay arguing for or against the banning of the book from

schools. In six years she has not had one student who has written an essay calling for the book to be expelled from the district curriculum (Swift 2).

CHAPTER 4

Defenses

The controversy over *Huckleberry Finn* has been one of the most historically influential of all time. The controversy started in the late 1800's before the book had even been published and is still continuing into the twenty-first century. The controversy continues to grow, as issues of racism that Twain reveals within *Huckleberry Finn* are still alive in current American society. There are advocates both for and against the book that has been labeled the single most significant piece of American literature. Those who want the book removed claim that it promotes racism through the portrayal of African-Americans and the use of the word "nigger." They claim that nothing good can come from teaching this book at any school level.

On the other side is the group that is for *Huckleberry Finn*. Those who support reading *Huckleberry Finn* in high school and university classrooms say that this book is an important piece of literature because of how it portrays the history of our nation. They claim that the book was written in a realistic way and that it does not promote racism, but instead brings to light and even fights against the racial attitudes that were held during the Civil War era. This chapter will focus on the defenses of *Huckleberry Finn*, showing that *Huckleberry Finn* is not a book that

promotes racism, but actually stands up against the racial mentalities of the late 1800's. It will also show that by properly teaching the book and creating an environment in which the students are made aware of the controversy and the issues that surround the book, that *Huckleberry Finn* can be a beneficial source of literature for high school and university students.

One of the defenses for the study of *Huckleberry Finn* is that Twain tried to relate the story to his own boyhood dreams. It is difficult to read *Huckleberry Finn* and not analyze Mark Twain's life. Mark Twain was born in Florida, Missouri, in 1835, but he grew up near Hannibal, Missouri, along the Mississippi River. In 1847, Twain's father died, leaving the family financially unstable. Twain started working with his brother Orion at the *Hannibal Newspaper*, working as a printer's apprentice. Throughout all his years working in a print shop, Twain tried composing humorous pieces, copying the style of local colorists who were popular during that time. By 1865, he had accomplished a reputation for his writing and was receiving a commission from the *Keokuk Saturday Post* for a series of humorous letters reporting on a planned trip to South America ("Samuel"). While he was on his trip, he decided to give up his writing career and instead dedicated 18 months to becoming an apprentice as a riverboat pilot. Once he completed the apprenticeship, he spent the next three

years navigating the great Mississippi River, which had been a boyhood dream for Twain. It would be along the Mississippi River that Twain experienced his carefree boyhood adventures that would later become the basis for his classic writings of *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*.

By July 1875, Twain had completed one of his greatest masterpieces, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. Shortly after *Tom Sawyer* was completed, he started thinking about another project. In 1875, Twain wrote in a letter to a friend where he said, "I shall take a boy of twelve and run him through life (in the first person) but not Tom Sawyer—he would not be a good character for it" ("The 100 Most"). A month later, that boy would become Huckleberry Finn. By 1876 *Tom Sawyer* was published and Twain had begun work on his greatest classic, *Huckleberry Finn*.

Twain had become unhappy with the project and was ready to abandon the idea; he again wrote his friend saying, "I like it only tolerably well, and may possibly pigeonhole or burn the ms. when it is done" ("The 100 Most"). Putting the novel aside for seven years, he produced three other stories. It was not until a return trip to the great Mississippi River that Twain was inspired to continue on with *Huckleberry Finn* ("The 100 Most").

The first American edition of the novel appeared on February 18, 1885. Figures show that there were 9,000 orders by September 2, 1884,

and over 40,000 by April 1885. A century later, scholar Walter Blair estimates that *Huckleberry Finn* had sold about twenty million copies worldwide, with sales still going strong (Brown).

Mark Twain was one of the very first American authors to use realism as a literary style of writing. In the story of *Huckleberry Finn*, Twain portrays the South in a very realistic fashion. He captures both the white and black perspectives of life in the post-Civil War era. He mainly uses the dialect of an uneducated black slave named Jim and the dialect of a poor uneducated white adolescent named Huckleberry Finn. With Twain's use of realism mixed with his sense of humor and satirical style of writing, he produced one of the world's greatest pieces of literature as well as one of the world's most controversial pieces of literature.

It is hard to comprehend how so many can see *Huckleberry Finn* as promoting racism, when it is so clear that he was actually against racism and was, in fact, making fun of the racial mentalities of many Southerners. The basis for many censorship campaigns and those who are against *Huckleberry Finn* is that the portrayal of Jim's character is seen as a "typical" black slave who runs away from his "owner" Miss Watson. Many see the characterization of Jim as racist ("Racism").

It is hard to see Twain as a "racist." He did not support the attitudes and beliefs about slavery that his family seemed to cling to during

his early childhood. There is evidence that Twain was, in fact, involved with several black communities. He performed with singers from Georgia and helped support a law student at Harvard. He wrote stories for *San Francisco Days* where he portrayed, in an ironically humorous way, the treatment of a black man who was struck in the street. Twain took steps in bridging the gap between blacks and whites that many people during the late 1800's would not have even considered appropriate. Critics tend to agree that based on the evidence and his involvement with the black community, Twain was probably the least racist of any 19th century American male ("Adventures").

Realism is the representation of things in a way that is accurate and true to life. Early 19th century American writers had a tendency to be too flowery and sentimental. This was mostly because they were trying to prove they could write as elegantly as the British. Twain had other ideas on what writing should be like. Twain's style was based on humorous, realistic, colloquial American speech. Twain wrote in the true American voice, which was something that early 19th century authors had failed to do. He was an American, born and raised, and he magnificently captured its distinctive voice, humorous slang, and iconoclasm ("Rise").

During this time, 19th century realism was not just a literary technique. It was a way of speaking truth as well as exploding worn-out

conventions. *Huckleberry Finn* is the most well-known example of American realism. Huck is a poor boy who decides to follow the voice of his conscience and help a Negro slave escape to freedom. *Huckleberry Finn* is an example of a story of death, rebirth, and initiation. When Twain decided to portray the South of the 19th century in as realistic a fashion as possible, he put readers in a position that some were not prepared to be in. It is because of his use of realism that some readers have inadvertently labeled Twain as a racist and viewed his novel as a story that promotes racism ("Rise").

On a superficial level, *Huckleberry Finn* might appear to be racist, as the characterization of Jim can seem racist to the reader. However, when reading a novel as complicated as *Huckleberry Finn*, it is important to not take the novel at face value, but in many instances the reader needs to read between the lines in order to capture the real underlying themes of a novel. When taking the underlying themes in *Huckleberry Finn* into consideration, the reader should be able to realize that *Huckleberry Finn* is not racist, but is actually anti-slavery. The first time a reader meets Jim, he is given a very negative description of Jim. Right off the bat, Jim is portrayed as illiterate, childlike, not very bright, and even extremely superstitious ("Racism"). It is critical that when reading *Huckleberry Finn*, the reader does not lose sight of who is giving this

description and who is being described. It is believed that Twain created the character of Jim after his Uncle Daniel, who was an admirable figure in Twain's childhood life. Twain grew up in a household where he witnessed the beatings of slaves. His father was also very formal with him—so formal that he had to shake his father's hand before he could go to bed at night or before going to hear stories that his Uncle Daniel would tell him. Critics argue about whether or not Twain most associated with Jim as a way to evade the father, much like Huck, who in the story also evades his father and in many ways finds a second father in Jim ("Adventures").

When reading *Huckleberry Finn*, it is important for the reader to realize that while the depiction of Jim is quite sad, it is also quite accurate. Jim is like the millions of other slaves in the South during the 19th century. The majority of black slaves were not allowed any form of formal education; many were never allowed any independent thought and were constantly mistreated and abused. In *Huckleberry Finn*, Twain is merely portraying Jim in an extremely realistic fashion, by showing him as a slave raised in the South during the late 19th century. One cannot simply say Twain is a racist for portraying with historical accuracy the moral injustices of the 19th century ("Racism").

There are many places throughout the story where Twain actually portrays an extreme opposition to the slave trade and the typical racist

attitudes during this time period. For example, in Chapter 6, Huck's father passionately objects to the government's granting of suffrage to an educated Black professor. In reality, Twain actually wants the reader to see just how ignorant this statement is because Huck's father believes that he is superior to the Black professor simply because of skin color, when it is abundantly clear to the reader that he is not ("Racism").

Another example is in Chapter 15, where the reader comes across a passage that contradicts the original childlike characterization found when the reader first met Jim. In Chapter 15, Jim is portrayed with an extremely caring and father-like personality when he becomes worried about losing his best friend, Huck, in the deep fog. In this passage, Twain is contradicting Huck and Jim's original relations between a White male and a Black slave ("Racism"). African-American scholar and poet Sterling Brown wrote, "Jim is the best example in nineteenth century fiction of the average Negro slave. . . . and he is completely believable" (Roache 2). If a distinguished African-American poet can see Jim's character as a representation of the 19th century Southern slave, then the average reader of *Huckleberry Finn* should also be able to make this connection.

Another major connection made in Chapter 15 is that Huck is forced to make a moral decision. He has to decide whether or not to turn in Jim, who is actually a runaway slave. Huck is confronted by two very

strong forces. One is the belief that Jim is nothing more than lost property. The other force is the bond of friendship that Huck has built with Jim throughout their adventure down the Mississippi. With this example, Twain is showing how absurd the idea of slavery is and is allowing the reader to see how much more important it is to follow one's personal conscience before the law of society. By the time the reader reaches the end of the novel, it is virtually impossible for the reader to not come to the conclusion that Jim was being portrayed as an equal. Throughout the novel, one can clearly hear the voice of society represented through what Huck says and does. There is a racist and even hateful contempt that is present within the pages of the story. In order to see Twain's main objective in this story, the reader must first acknowledge that there is racism and hate within any society ("Racism"). The reader must realize that what Twain is attempting to do is to bring the ugliness in society out into the open. He does this by creating an atmosphere in the story that forces the reader to challenge the original description of Jim. It is because of this that Twain does not create an apology for slavery, but actually brings about a challenge to it.

The second major concern that people have with *Huckleberry Finn* is that Twain uses the word "nigger" over 120 times throughout the book. The book is set around 1835-1840, during a period of time when slavery

was still in effect, and the Civil War had not yet begun. African-Americans were still seen as property, not human beings. The book's characters consist of mainly lower class White people, Jim the African slave, and slaveholders in the slave state of Missouri. Although the term "nigger" is used rather loosely, the story is indeed dealing with a slave state and with the time in which people of Huck's class would use the word "nigger" and not even think twice about it ("Adventures").

The word "nigger" has carried with it a sense of offensiveness to African-Americans. It is a term that located people culturally, not just identified them racially ("Adventures"). Randall Kennedy wrote, "It is not just 'an insulting slur' . . . associated only with racial animus; rather it is a reminder of the ironies and dilemmas, the tragedies and glories of the American experience" (Howard). It is precisely the use of this word that makes readers more offended than any other issue they may have within the book. This is especially true when it comes to whether or not high schools across the country should be teaching this book.

As stated in the previous chapter, parents, students, and many others take offense to having students read *Huckleberry Finn* aloud in school. They claim that reading a book that contains the racist term "nigger" over 120 times is degrading, embarrassing, and even harmful to students, especially those who are of African-American heritage.

Although many parents and students feel this book is extremely inappropriate, many teachers feel that this book is an essential piece of literature when it comes to teaching American literature classes. From an educator's point of view, this book simply needs to be taught appropriately. The reason so many people take up issue with *Huckleberry Finn* in the classrooms is simply that teachers fail to prepare students for what they are going to be reading. Douglas Howard, a high school English teacher says, "We have a responsibility to address it . . . but to open a dialogue that leads to understanding and that, ideally, prevents the offense from ever taking place" (Howard).

Many people advocate banning this book due to its representation of both Huck and Jim, as well as the use of the word "nigger." However, with Twain's use of realism, the evidence overwhelmingly proves that Twain was not in fact a racist, but was actually fighting against the racist mentalities of the South during the mid-1800's.

CHAPTER 5

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations for Further Research

The story of *Huckleberry Finn* is an amazingly powerful story. It is one of America's most famous pieces of literature and has been marked as one of the greatest books of all time. It has survived centuries of controversy involving school bannings across the country. No other book in American history has accomplished so much and, in many ways, divided the literary world on how issues of race should be portrayed. It is clear that Mark Twain was, in fact, not a racist writer who was trying to promote racism, but he was instead creating a masterpiece that would make every reader a little more aware of the racial injustices that impacted our nation in the past and impact our nation even to this day.

It is clear that the controversy over *Huckleberry Finn* has had a significant impact on American society, with the controversy starting before *Huckleberry Finn* even came out and continuing into the twenty-first century. In the 1800's the controversy was over the style of language that Twain used and the issues of crudeness in Twain's sense of humor. The controversy started to shift and change in the 1950's to where the issues over the book were more about race, particularly the use of the word "nigger." Even in the twenty-first century, *Huckleberry Finn* has been banned from several school curriculums across the country. Twain's novel

has sparked a controversy that will more than likely continue as teachers continue to use the book in their curriculum.

There are many defenses for the use of *Huckleberry Finn*. Some of those defenses this paper discussed were that Twain based the story of *Huckleberry Finn* on his own childhood fantasies of navigating the Mississippi River. Moreover, he based the characters, particularly that of Jim, on people that had a significant impact on his life.

Another defense used was Twain's use of realism. The defense of realism argues that Twain portrayed the South in an accurate manner. He showed the ugliness of racism in a way that makes people think about racism and how it even applies to today. Twain's use of realism also used language that is incredibly offensive to many people. Using the word "nigger" over 120 times in the book has caused people either to become offended or to become aware of racial mentalities.

Huckleberry Finn has appeared on the nation's top ten most controversial book list, coming in at number five. Although highly controversial, major authors and critics such as T.S. Elliot and Lionel Trilling have labeled *Huckleberry Finn* as "an American 'masterpiece'" and "one of the world's great books and one of the central documents of American culture" (Henry).

The most common place this controversy has been seen is in the

classrooms where teachers try to teach this extremely complicated book. Although the majority of English and literature teachers are in favor of using this book, many parents and students are not in favor of its use. Despite parental and student concern over the use of *Huckleberry Finn*, studies have shown that if teachers teach to the controversy and inform the students on the significance of the word "nigger" as well as the history behind the book, then students should be able to read *Huckleberry Finn* with an understanding that it does not promote racism, but instead shows the ugliness of racism.

In order to efficiently teach *Huckleberry Finn*, the teacher needs to be aware of the controversy that surrounds this timeless classic. If I had an opportunity to teach *Huckleberry Finn*, I would need to be aware of how both White and Black students may feel while reading this book. One of the ways teachers can do this is to prepare their classes beforehand. Teachers need to inform their students of the setting in which this novel takes place. *Huckleberry Finn* is one of the few works of literature that portrays such a clear insight into slavery and represents a Black dialect, while at the same time giving a significant role to an African-American character. Because of this, teachers need to find ways to show students the historical accuracy this book holds (Webb 2).

According to Webb, teachers need to involve the class in a

response-based cultural studies approach that at a minimum requires the following:

- 1 teaching *Huckleberry Finn* in a way that is sensitive to both the racial makeup and dynamics within each individual classroom
- 2 openly addressing the presence of and reasons behind using the word "nigger" so many times and developing a strategy for either using or avoiding the use of this word openly
- 3 having students examine the objections to Twain's portrayal of African-Americans as well as other texts about slavery
- 4 informing parents of high school age students that the text will be used and offering meaningful alternative assignments

Along with these four requirements, teachers also need to understand that every class has a different makeup, and the dynamics of teaching *Huckleberry Finn* will be different for every class. These differences can be based on the race of the teacher and the proportion of minority students in the classroom. They also need to keep in mind the local social, cultural, and political factors. Discussing racial issues cross-racially always carries with it an emotional impact that some students are not prepared to deal with. This is especially important when classrooms contain African-American students. If handled properly, issues of race may be treated at a safe, although somewhat uncomfortable, intellectual

distance. Inviting Black speakers to the class, whatever their viewpoint, is important since *Huckleberry Finn* was written from a White perspective on issues regarding Black slaves.

The most important things that teachers need to be aware of when teaching *Huckleberry Finn* is that the students need to be well prepared before reading the book, and there needs to be a sensitivity to the emotional feelings that reading this book may bring out into the open (Webb 8). If properly prepared, students can gain an insight into a world where they probably never imagined stepping.

It is somewhat amazing how the controversy over this book took off from the very beginning and how it has lasted over 120 years. It is also ironic that a book could have so much controversy when the author supposedly never even had a purpose behind writing the book. Twain figured that his readers would read too much into this book. Using his infamous tongue-in-cheek sense of humor, he tried to play down the importance of his message in this book. Twain says it best in the beginning of the book when he writes the following: "NOTICE, persons attempting to find a motive in this narrative will be prosecuted; persons attempting to find a moral in it will be banished; persons attempting to find a plot in it will be shot" (Twain 1244).

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